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ABSTRACT

There is ample evidence that bilinguals, even infant bilinguals, can translate naturally, i.e., without any special training for it. Yet when bilinguals apply for admission to the School of Translators at the University of Ottawa, most of them fail the entrance examination. The reasons are several: (1) Most natural translation is oral, not written. (2) In natural translation, the user is satisfied with any translation which gives the main idea of the message. (3) The original document to be translated must be understood thoroughly and accurately; therefore expert knowledge is needed to translate it according to professional standards. (4) Bilingual interference is a minor problem in natural translation but a serious one in professional translation. In the professional training programs, emphasis is placed on first-language writing skills. (Author/CFM)

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THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN NATURAL AND PROFESSIONAL TRANSLATION

(Paper read to the Conference on Second Language Learning, Collège Saint-Jean, Edmonton, Alberta, September 6-11, 1977)*

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I

Presumably everybody in this audience is bilingual. In that case you may be startled to hear that you are all translators. But of course not professional translators, neither in the sense that you do translating for a living nor that you can translate to professional standards. Nevertheless, if an Anglophone came up to you and said, for example, "Can you tell me the French for 'It's a nice day today'", or if a unilingual Francophone asked you to tell a unilingual Anglophone, "Quittez votre chambre, il y a un incendie au sous-sol!", I am sure you would all be able to help out effectively. To distinguish this everyday conversational kind of translating, which you can all do, from the professional sort, let us call the everyday kind 'natural translation'.

On the other hand you are not a typical group of bilinguals either, because most of you are language teachers, and indeed most of you are second language teachers. Probably in the current fashion you try to use translation as little as possible in your teaching. There are teaching specialists, now — in fact there have always been a few — who believe that the prejudice against the use of translation in language teaching has been exaggerated: for instance Geoff Mills at the University of Ottawa (Mills, 1977). In any case, it is likely that when you learnt your second language you did some translation exercises. So you probably ought to be classed in an intermediate group, between the completely naive bilingual and the professional translator, which it is convenient to call 'semi-natural translators'.

Let us, however, not underestimate either the ability or the range

of the completely natural translators. Even infants can translate if they are brought up in a bilingual household. Of course they cannot translate until they can distinguish between their two languages. Nor can we expect them to translate whole sentences with a syntactic structure until they are past the one-word-sentence stage of baby talk.

If you attended the Conference on Bilingualism, Biculturalism and Education at this College in 1974, you heard Merrill Swain from OISE talking about a three-year-old bilingual boy she called Michael whose speech she investigated and who would frequently translate between her and her Francophone fellow investigator (Swain, 1974). I do not want to repeat what she said then, so I shall take an illustration from another study. In 1908 a young French linguist, J. Ronjat, needed a topic for his doctoral thesis at the University of Paris (Ronjat, 1913). So he decided to record the speech development of his newborn son Louis. Ronjat's wife was German. He and his wife spoke each other's language, but they took a firm decision that each of them would speak to Louis each only in his or her native language. Ronjat says of this rule of parental behaviour:

> "Il est important de l'appliquer dès la naissance de l'enfant. Il se produit chez les enfants, tant qu'ils ne peuvent pas articuler, un emmagasinement et une sorte d'incubation." (ibid:4)

The rest of the family was solidly Francophone on Father's side and equally solidly Germanophone on Mother's side. The couple lived in France, and so had Francophone domestics, but Mother's German family often came to visit and sometimes Mother brought a German servant from home. Ronjat père, in conformity with the main interest of the time among French linguists,

was mainly concerned with phonetics and what today we call phonology. Yet he was meticulous enough to record a good deal of other data, among which we find enough for us to trace Louis beginnings and progress as a translator.

The first stirrings that interest us occur well before Louis' second birthday. At 1.2 (1 yr 2 mths) Father says to Louis, "Dis merci." Louis responds in German with "Danke". At 1.8 Mother says to Louis in German, "Was hat Papa im Mund?" (What's Papa got in his mouth?). Louis replies correctly in German, "Pfeife" (pipe). Then Father asks him, "Qu'est-ce que c'est ça?" Whereupon Louis replies in French, "Pipe". At the same period, Louis finds it amusing to recite to himself, without any prompting from his elders, French and German word pairs like "oeil/Auge", "Schiff/bateau" (ibid:81). Ronjat comments on the "Merci/Danke" example that Louis response is a reflex due to his often being asked to give that response in German. Since nobody seems to have attached a name to this kind of reflex, I propose we call it a 'bilingual response'. On the "Pfeife/pipe" example, Ronjat is categorically against assuming it is translation. He writes:

> "Naturellement il ne s'agit là de rien qui ressemble à une traduction. Chez un enfant monoglotte il y a liaison entre la représentation visuelle d'un objet, la représentation mentale d'une qualité, etc... et la représentation mentale d'un mot pour désigner cet objet, etc... Chez le nôtre il y a double liaison entre la représentation visuelle, etc. et la représentation mentale de deux mots, et l'un ou l'autre élément de cette double liaison fonctionne suivant la personne à laquelle l'enfant s'adresse." (ibid:76)

Even if this is not translation, it is probably an important preparation for what takes place in the ensuing months, for which reason I am inclined

to call it 'pre-translation'.

Indeed Ronjat goes on to tell that already at 1.9 Louis begins to "transmettre les messages d'une langue à l'autre". For example Louis says something in German to a German cook and then repeats the same remark in French to other servants. Notice, because this is typical for the very youngest translators, that he begins by translating what he has said himself ('autotranslation'). Soon, however, from 2.2 onwards, Louis is translating other people's messages. For example he acts as interpreter between the German cook and his French grandparents, asking the cook to fetch the milk, light the lamp, etc. Ronjat observes that his son can translate single words and very simple sentences without any difficulty (ibid:82).

There is not space in this paper to trace Louis' development through all its stages. For those who would like to read Ronjat for themselves, there is a copy of his thesis in the University of Montreal library. I shall just round off my quotations from it by skipping to the beginning of Louis' fifth year, by which time Ronjat's verdict on him is this:

> "Son habilité de traducteur est remarquable quand il s'agit de trouver une équivalence d'idiotismes. Ce n'est point la lexicographie courante, mais de l'excellente stylistique instinctive."

Louis Ronjat was perhaps precocious by a margin of a few months, but we have had no trouble, in my current research project, finding similar translators among today's children. They translate for themselves and they translate for their families, the latter especially if they are in immigrant families where some of their elders still know little English or French. For an analysis of a number of case histories of child

translators, see Harris and Sherwood (1977).

What natural translators do really is translation. I want to point this up with a contrast. Another child (Von Raffler Engel, 1970) living in Italy and aged 3.6 is at table with the family. Father, who is an Anglophone, tastes the soup and remarks in English that it is well flavoured but slightly oversalted. Whereupon, without any other prompting, the boy gets up and runs to the kitchen to tell the cook, in Italian, "Father says even though the soup is too salty it tastes good, or rather, has good ingredients." Immediately he realizes that there is something different between his father's description "well flavoured" and his own faltering translation "tastes good, has good ingredients". So he adds for the cook's benefit the comment, "È una cosa che somiglia, ma non è uguale" (It's something similar, but not the same). This shows the boy was monitoring his own translation, and that he was capable of making a quite sophisticated criticism of it. He would therefore not have perpetrated what I am coming to next.

For the other half of contrast let us turn to the effort of an anonymous somebody who was not bilingual, and therefore not a natural translator, but one of that highly dangerous species, the monolingual Anglophone with a French dictionary. (Stories are often told about the horrors spewed out by computers when they are programmed to do translation. Actually a translating computer is now doing useful work in Canada: it translates most of our weather bulletins. As this example will show, the computer could do no worse than humans who attempt to translate automatically.) On a recent trip to the Maritimes a French Canadian went into a restaurant and was cheered to see they were accommodating travellers

by writing the menu in French as well as in English — until his eyes alighted on the following:

CANADIAN CHEDDAR CHEESE WITH CRACKERS/
CANADIEN CHEDDAR FROMAGE AVEC PETARDS.

We could base a little lesson about translation on this howler. To begin with, obviously, the would-be translator had failed to perform the syntactic transformation

English: adj. of nationality + sub-species adj. + noun ⟶
French: noun + sub-species adj.+ adj. of nationality.

So much for a very crude example of syntactic non-translation; for more subtle ones, some of which bug even professional translators, Vinay and Darbelnet (1973) makes good reading. But for all the gravity of the grammatical mix-up, readers would probably guess correctly at the meaning of "canadien cheddar fromage" even without knowing the English, because — more by luck than judgement no doubt — the words are right. People have a certain amount of what we might call 'tolerance' for bad syntax before a translated text becomes totally incomprehensible. We did some experiments a few years ago at the University of Montreal which showed this (Harris, Hofmann, Courval and Weydt, 1971). Not so, of course, with "crackers/pétards". Here the problem is simply that the words refer to two very different realities, i.e. their meanings are widely, even wildly, different.

The result is a kind of nonsense that four-year-old bilinguals do not perpetrate, because they are very conscious of differences of meaning. They possess what I call COMAL for short. COMAL means 'Conservation of Meaning Across Languages', and it is a piece of pseudo-Piaget terminology which means the ability to judge, given an utterance in one language and

an utterance in another language, whether or not — or to what extent — they have the same meaning. (Those who know their Piaget will appreciate the analogy with his 'conservation of measurement'.)

II

So far I have talked at some length about children translating because it is a very interesting subject, especially for those of us who have ourselves been bilingual since childhood — for some investigators, these are the only 'perfect' bilinguals! — and yet it has been neglected. Now I must leap ahead to the adult age of about 18, the age at which the natural translators seek admission to university.

We in the translation schools do often acknowledge that these candidates can do some translation already, because when we get an opportunity to set them an entrance examination we usually include a piece of translation in it. Of course, we are interested in seeing how badly they translate — by our standards — as much as in how well they can do it. Translation is not the only test we give them; for reasons I shall come to further on, we attempt to assess some cognitive skills as well as verbal ones. At the University of Ottawa we are just starting to experiment not only with the Otis Test of Mental Ability and the Differential Aptitude Test, but also with the strong-Campbell Interest Inventory. (The investigator is Louise Campagna, a psychologist with the Student Counselling Service.)

David Gerver is experimenting in London, England, with other tests, and Irène Vachon-Spilka at the University of Montreal with yet others. Still there would be no point in the translation test, for which we have not found a substitute, if the candidates could not already do some translation.

The results of these entrance examinations are calamitous. We admit only a fraction of those who sit them. This year's figures were 14 out of 89. The most disappointing are the applicants for a special programme which we offer to students who already have a degree in another subject. If 45 who sat this year, only 6 were admitted into the programme. Some of the failed applicants even had B.A.s in French or in Lettre françaises. Furthermore, in spite of our efforts to select our students carefully, the loss of students by failure and by dropping out is high. We expect to lose a quarter to a third of our first year intake by the end of the year.

So here is a paradox: all bilinguals can translate, yet few of them can get into translation school. In fact one quite often hears translation teachers complaining that just because so-and-so is fluently bilingual, he thinks he can translate.

Clearly there must be a wide gap between natural translation, or even between the not-so-natural translation of a graduate with a B.A. in a second language, and professional translation as reflected in the requirements of translation schools. That is the problem I want to turn to now.

III

Some wise words which throw an indirect light on the problem were written by Alexander Ljudskanov, a Bulgarian semiotician who died last year. He authored one of the most interesting books of the sixties about translation, Ljudskanov (1969). He said:

> "Grâce à une certaine intuition et à une certaine habitude, chaque sujet bilingue traduit d'une manière ou d'une autre. Par conséquent, la science de la TO [traduction humaine] n'avait pas à s'occuper de la question comment apprendre à l'homme à traduire, mais de la question comment lui apprendre à agir d'une manière ou d'une autre pour obtenir des résultats correspondant à certains critères acceptés à priori."

The key to the problem I am discussing lies in what Ljudskanov calls "les critères acceptés à priori". That is to say, our culture and other cultures impose certain standards and certain fashions on translation, just as they do on a great many other of our activities.

For example, in general the ideal in our society of a good translation is that it should not sound or read like a translation but like an original composition in the target language. I imagine most of you would react, "Of course!" But it is not such a universal criterion as you might think. I cannot go further into the matter here, but will just mention that a famous book on literary translation, Savory (1968), lists an often quoted series of choices which the translator has to make, and one of them is precisely whether the translation should sound like an original text or like a translation. Well in our society the generally accepted ideal — whether we always attain it or not — favours the original-sounding text. A consequence of this is that professional translation in our (Canadian)

society can only be done satisfactorily by people with a native speaker command of the target language.

In natural translation people translate both ways between their languages; indeed it comes so naturally to do so that people are often surprised to learn that the great majority of professional translators ought, by professional standards, to translate only towards their first language. Many employers of translators fail to realize this. If circumstances oblige translators to translate into their second language, their texts should always be revised by a native speaker. What happens if not? Here is an extract from the exam of one of the Anglophone postgraduate applicants for admission to our school this summer:

> "Dans l'histoire la Nouvelle Zélande a été toujours un pays éloigné. La population y était peu nombreux avant l'arrivée des Maoris vers 1350; ils arrivèrent en sept canots. Actuellement un de plusieurs médecins ou avocats maoriens de teint foncé peut vous dire avec certitude lequel de ces canots apporta son devancier à Aotearoa, la terre de "la longue nuée blanchâtre".

(The words and expressions underlined are the ones that were criticized by the marker.) It is understandable, but as some would say, it does not respect "le génie de la langue française". Many of our disappointed applicants in fact are Anglophones who do not appreciate the standard of French we need.

This search for perfection in the target language can go very far. Sometimes literally thousands of dollars are spent in perfecting a single document. Here is a letter which an exasperated Anglophone public servant wrote to The Citizen (Ottawa) last year:

> "One of the main linguistic difficulties in Canada is that we do not use translation from English to French or vice versa but an English or French 'version' of the other language.
>
> In French particularly, it is quite usual to sacrifice factual accuracy to stylish French. In the Public Service of Canada, 'correctness' of French depends on the salary drawn by the critic. A professional translator makes a very adequate factual translation into French but one of the higher priced help then objects to the style. So the piece is changed to please him — but then, another French-Canadian drawing $2,000 p.a. more salary returns from vacation and sneers at the whole thing which has to be rewritten.
>
> This can go on indefinitely as higher and higher fonctionnaires — unconcerned with putting accurate information across but solely with the 'genius of the language' — can and do get into the act. There is no reason to suppose that French-Canadian public servants are any less semi-literate than the highly paid English ones who include some doozers. It is this which causes much of the fantastic delay in translations into French — not the professional translator who is routinely blamed for it."

The second difference stems from the nature of all language: it is spoken before it is written, and the spoken form is still more widespread in the world than written texts. It follows that most natural translation is oral translation. It is true that there is oral translation in professional translation too. The professionals do not call it translation, they call it 'interpretation'; but the name need not trouble us — it is still translation and it is taught in translation schools. Yet although the end of the age of Guthenburg has been proclaimed by our most popular Canadian philosopher, the professional translators of written texts still outnumber the interpreters by far, at least in our society. To gain some idea of the proportion, consider that the Translation Bureau of the Federal Government has an establishment of approximately 1,200 translators, of whom

less than 60, less than 5%, are interpreters. Conversely, over 95% of the work is written. Therein lies a problem which you are all surely aware of, whether or not you agree that it really is a problem: the weakness of many students in written composition even if they are quite articulate verbally. Whatever its importance may be in other fields of study or walks of life, it is a crucial weakness in would-be professional translators. I could have brought along examples from exam papers of native speakers with a degree already who have sat our written examination, but I think those of you who are first-language teachers already know well enough what I mean. So instead I shall cite one of those texts which were already alluded to when I said thousands of dollars were sometimes spent on revision. The following example is from a translation which was judged so unsatisfactory that it was withdrawn for revision after publication, and lists the expressions which the reviser changed.

> "Des programmes universitaires de traduction et/ou d'interprétation sont actuellement offerts par l'Université Laurentienne, l'Université Laval, l'Université de Moncton, l'Université de Montréal, l'Université d'Ottawa et l'Université Queen's. Les programmes de formation sont de nature variable et incluent une maîtrise en interprétation, à l'Université Laval, et un programme pré-gradué de quatre ans qui conduit à un diplôme de bachelier en Sciences du language à l'Ecole de traducteurs et d'interprètes de l'Université Laurentienne. Le programme spécial de langue française, de traduction et d'études canadiennes-françaises de l'Université Queen's, qui a été créé en 1974, est un condensé de quatorze cours qui combine une insistance particulière sur le français et des études de base en littérature, civilisation et institutions canadiennes-françaises."

Translation	Revision
programmes de traduction et/ou d'interprétation	programmes de traduction et d'interprétation

l'Université Queen's	Queen's University
programmes de nature variable	programmes de diverses natures
et incluent	ils comprennent
un programme pré-gradué	un programme précédant l'acquisition des titres universitaires
bachelier en Sciences du language	bachelier en sciences du langage

Yet that translation was done by a professional and native speaker of French. What went wrong? Well I do know that the translator was a professional interpreter. It is said, though it is an over-generalization, that the practice of interpretation spoils translators for written translation, because the interpreter is continously conditioned to work to the norms of the spoken language.

My next point concerns accuracy of detail. In natural translation, for the most part, the user is in a situation where he is glad to get any translation provided the gist and tenor of the message are correctly transmitted. With professional translation we are much more finicky. People often extend this criterion even to literary translation, criticizing words and phrases here and there: André Gide, himself a translator of Shakespeare, complained about the attitude, which can blind critics to what he considered more fundamental literary values. Often we have a functional justification for being fussy because of the nature of the text, technical or legal texts for instance. We all hope that translations of aircraft maintenance manuals say to put the same sort of screws in the same holes as do the original versions. That kind of problem is enormous quantitatively. Canada's decision to purchase the American 'Aurora' long-range patrol aircraft involves 150,000,000 words of technical

translation into French. So this is the kind of translation most of our translation school students are going to end up doing.

I hope it is self-evident to you that to do a good translation you need to understand the original thoroughly and accurately. Sometimes it is not self-evident to our students, who wonder why they have been failed in English when they are being trained to translate into French. On a CBC Ideas program earlier this year, a Toronto writer described how he translates poetry from languages he has never learnt — just by the sound. Clearly an exception to the rule! When one comes to technical translation, and therefore to understanding technical texts, one needs some background knowledge in the field concerned. In addition one needs to be acquainted with the technical terminology of the field in both languages. Even a widely used term like "Canadian Bill of Rights" needs expert knowledge to translate it to professional standards, because it is a technical term in the field of Canadian constitutional law. (The official translation is "La déclaration canadienne des droits".) This is not to say that natural translators cannot do technical translation. Far from it, there is a never-ending argument in translation circles about whether one is better off giving a technical text to a professional translator, or to a non-professional who is an expert on the subject. There are pros and cons. However, we do not expect the 'natural' experts to translate outside their speciality. There are professional translators, too, who work in only one field. I think of Dr. Nekrassov in Ottawa, for example, an ex-medical doctor who has trained himself to become probably our best Canadian translator of bio-medical texts. But not all translators strike such a rich vein: most have to be prepared to translate whatever is put their way.

That means they need a wide background of general knowledge, plus the ability to document themselves quickly in unfamiliar subjects and grasp new ideas. The extreme case is that of conference interpreters, who, whatever their contracts may say about the organizers providing documentation in advance, are lucky if they get more than a few minutes before the conference opens to acquaint themselves with the terminology.

To come back for a moment to natural translation, you know that to every natural function there is a pathology. What does the pathology of natural translation consist of? Quite a number of things, but let us start with a classic ailment that every bilingual has experienced: 'faux amis'. (There is a wonderful bedside book for French/English bilinguals, Koessler,1975,which collects together thousands of them.) Everybody knows what a faux ami is like — using actually for actuellement, sensiblement for sensibly, and so on — but what causes them? They must arise from the different ways we associate words in our minds, and for that reason they are interesting psychologically. We can say roughly that we associate words by three elements: sound, linguistic meaning, and extra-linguistic references and connotations. The problem with pairs like sensiblement/sensibly, is that the association by sound is very strong while the difference in meaning is not sufficient to counteract the sound. It is sufficient, however, to falsify a translation. There are other kinds of bilingual interference that dog translators, but you are already well aware of them through your work as language teachers. Most of the time in natural translation, we do not pay much attention to them because they are too minor to disrupt the gist of the message. But they are regarded as errors by bilinguals, and hence by natural translators,

to the extent that the latter will often correct their own interferences. However, our criterion for professional translation is rather to treat them as major errors, for the cultural reasons I have already sketched. Hence much of the work of translation courses is to condition natural translators to resist the ills that they are naturally heir to.

That brings me to a major syndrome which is hard to cure, and with it I will close this contrastive analysis. We are actually not sure that all natural translators translate alike. Again I refer to Merrill Swain and her OISE colleagues (Swain, Dumas and Naiman, 1974). They noticed that some six- and seven-year-olds stuck much more closely to the wording of the source text than others did. To stick to the wording of a text in oral translation, you have to be able to remember it. One of my assistants and I noticed in some research we were doing in an Ottawa school this summer that if you ask seven-year-olds to translate a brief message, some of them make an obvious effort to remember the exact wording by rehearsing it to themselves and others do not. The professional translator, however, is faced with no such problem of memory, because his written texts do not fade. Quite the contrary, his problem is how to forget it. The ideal of a target text that sounds like an original composition requires the translator to reproduce the ideas of the original in their rhetorical sequence and with the emotional and aesthetic connotations of the original — but not the wording and the phraseology. Unfortunately if you have the original text verbatim in your memory or in front of your eyes, you are always in danger of falling victim to verbal suggestion: that is to say, the source text stimulates the translator

to produce a text that is linguistically similar to it. One problem for the professional translator, therefore, is to insulate his language production from the suggestions of the original text. There are various techniques for doing this. I have read somewhere that Freud used to translate in paragraphs: he would read a paragraph, then close the book and write his translation without looking back at the original. Large translation bureaux use revisers, and the latter usually read the translation before they read the original. My own preferred technique is self-revision by doing a first draft and then putting it aside for a couple of days, after which I return to revise it as if it were an original text.

III

Having looked at some of the things that are involved in the passage from natural to professional translation, let us conclude by considering how a translation school like the University of Ottawa's helps students make the transition. The first term of the first year of our programme (see Harris, 1977) is largely given over to improving students' written English and French. We used to stop with language courses there, on the assumption that by that time students ought to know enough about grammar and composition or else quit the programme. But we came to realize that our assumption was false: the ability to write a good text in one's own language is such a large part of the competence of a professional translator that we need to continue the training for it throughout the rest of the programme. (Another incentive to do so is that some of our student end up working not as translators but as

editorial assistants at various levels in publishing, and in 'public relations'.)

The other professionally oriented course that we start in the very first term has to do with the average translator's need for background knowledge in the subjects of the texts he has to deal with. Many translation schools include introductory courses on law, economics, etc. in their syllabuses. We encourage students to follow such courses as electives, but have given up making them obligatory because within the fifteen hours a week of total class-time at our disposal for all courses, we found we could barely scratch the surface of the subjects that a translator should know about. Instead we now concentrate on self-help, by having a specialist librarian give a course in 'bilingual documentation resources'.

Translation proper is begun in the second term. Thereafter there are more courses, with exercises on increasingly specialized texts, in the ensuing two years. Numbers are kept down to twenty students per class so that they can be run as practical workshops. Instructors are a balanced mixture of full-time university professors and part-timers drawn from the large community of professional translators in Ottawa. The role of the latter is important both in bringing students into contact with the professional milieu and in averting an 'ivory tower' mentality among the more academically oriented staff. In order to provide some experience, albeit insufficient, of the pressure of time which professional translators usually work under, there are frequent 'tests against the clock'.

Those students who win one of the Secretary of State's Scholarships for translation students do two months of (paid) practical training during the summer at the Bureau for Translations. A few of the others, alas far from all, find other summer jobs in, or closely connected with, translation. However, we have to discourage occasional misguided attempts to hire our students as cheap substitutes for fully qualified translators. At their stage, they only acquire a swollen notion of their ability if they do not work under the supervision of an experienced reviser.

Towards the end of the programme, there is initiation into some more specialized branches of the profession. There are introductory courses in interpreting: though we de not train interpreters fully — and unfortunately there is no school in Canada which does yet — the student has the opportunity to assess whether he has the necessary talent. There are courses in terminology, an important 'back-up service' for technical translators which attempts to keep them abreast of the flood of technical jargon and neologisms. There are courses in linguistics and in the theory of translation intended to give him a deeper understanding of what he is doing.

Even so, we do not consider our students are fully competent when they obtain their degree. They are roughly at the stage of a doctor who has just finished his course work but still has to do his internship. Some of them, especially the scholarship holders, will go on immediately to the Government of Canada, where they will rightly be treated as probationers for the first year. The others must knock at the doors of crown corporations, large companies, other levels of government, which are big enough to absorb the cost that trainees represent. Eventually,

after some four years of school and office, the young translator ought to be capable of producing work on his own that meets professional standards and can withstand public criticism. He — or she, for we have more female students than male and it is an equal-opportunity profession — is then ready to sit the examinations, which are administered by the provincial associations of professional translators, for Certified Translator. Small wonder if by that time the professional translator remains only dimly aware that his skill rests on natural foundations.

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